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Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05
H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9018
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY GABORONE
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L LUSAKA 2828

PRETORIA ALSO FOR AMBASSADOR LOW

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PDEV US UK RH
SUBJ: ZAPU VIEWS OF ALL PARTIES CONFERENCE

1. SUMMARY: THIS IS THE FIRST OF FOUR TELEGRAMS BASED ON A LENGTHY CONVERSATION WITH EDWARD NDLOVU, CLOSE CONFIDANT OF JOSHUA NKOMO AND ZAPU'S DEPUTY SECRETARY FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, AND CONVERS ZAPU'S VIEWS OF AN ALL PARTIES CONFERENCE (APC). ZAPU ACCEPTS AN ALL PARTIES CONFERENCE BUT INSISTS THAT IT MUST NOT BE DESIGNED TO MELD THE INTERNAL SOLUTION AND THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS (AAP). MUZOREWA, SITHOLE AND CHIRAU ARE WELCOME TO ATTEND AS PART OF THE RHODESIAN FRONT. LAW AND ORDER UNDER TRANSITIONAL REGIME SHOULD BE ASSURED BY PATRIOTIC FRONT FORCES ASSISTED BY UN POLICE AND MILITARY. ZAPU IS WILLING TO LEAVE DETERMINATION OF EXACT FORMULA FOR UN PRESENCE UP TO UN SECRETARY GENERAL, BUT UNACCEPTABLE ELEMENTS OF SMITH'S FORCES MUST BE CONFINED TO BARRACKS.
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ZAPU AND ZANU WOULD STAND IN ELECTIONS AS SEPARATE PARTIES. NDLOVU RECOGNIZES THAT THERE MIGHT BE ARMED CONFLICT BETWEEN ZANU AND ZAPU FORCES INSIDE RHODESIA DURING INTERIM PERIOD. END SUMMARY.

2. NDLOVU SAID THAT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT HAS ALL ALONG (SINCE DAR ES SALAAM) ACCEPTED AN ALL PARTIES CONFERENCE. IT HAS BEEN

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THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL IN SALISBURY WHICH HAS BEEN RECALCITRANT. IF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MEMBERS ATTEND THEY WILL DO SO AS REPRESENTATIVES OF THE RHODESIAN FRONT. WHEN IT WAS SUGGESTED THAT THIS MIGHT BE THE VIEW OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT BUT NOT THAT OF THE AMERICAN AND BRITISH, NDLOVU SAID HE RECOGNIZED THIS WAS THE CASE. HE DID NOT DEMURE WHEN IT WAS FURTHER SUGGESTED THAT A DIFFERENCE OF OPINION IN DEFINING WHO CHIRAU, MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE REPRESENT SHOULD NOT BE AN OBSTACLE TO HOLDING A CONFERENCE.

3. ZAPU WILL GO TO A CONFERENCE ONLY IF IT IS CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD THAT THE CONFERENCE WILL HAVE AS ITS POINT OF REFERENCE THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS. THERE MUST BE NO ATTEMPT TO MELD THE AAP AND THE INTERNAL SOLUTION. FURTHER, THE PF WILL REJECT OUT OF HAND ANY EFFORTS TO GET IT TO JOIN THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT.

4. THE PF HAS BEEN REASONABLE IN ITS APPROACH TO THE AAP ALL ALONG. FOR EXAMPLE, AT DAR THE PF ACCEPTED A ROLE FOR THE UN. PF CONTINUES TO BELIEVE THAT LAW AND ORDER SHOULD BE GUARANTEED BY PF MILITARY AND POLICE DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD. HOWEVER PF RECOGNIZES THAT THERE ARE ACCEPTABLE ELEMENTS OF SMITH'S FORCES WHICH COULD BE INCORPORATED INTO THOSE OF THE PF. UNACCEPTABLE ELEMENTS WOULD BE CONFINED TO BARRACKS AND SUPERVISED BY UN AND PF FORCES. UN FORCES WOULD WORK WITH THE PF AND ACCEPTABLE SMITH FORCES DURING THE TRANSITIONAL
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PERIOD. ZAPU IS WILLING TO LEAVE IT UP TO THE UN SECRETARY GENERAL TO DECIDE ON THE SIZE AND PRECISE ROLE OF A UN POLICE AND MILITARY IN A TRANSITIONAL PERIOD.

5. IF AND WHEN ELECTIONS ARE HELD ZAPU AND ZANU WILL NOT PRESENT PATRITOIC FRONT CANDIDATES. EACH WILL PRESENT ITS OWN. ZAPU KNOWS THAT IT CAN BEAT ALL OTHERS IN AN ELECTION. IT HAS THE BEST ORGANIZED PARTY STRUCTURE THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY. FURTHER, ZANU AND MUZOREWA CANNOT COMPETE WITH ZAPU FOR THE ELECTORATE'S SUPPORT BECAUSE THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE RECOGNIZE THAT THEY HAVE SOUGHT TO DIVIDE THE NATION ON TRIBALIST GROUNDS.

6. NDLOVU SAID THAT HE RECOGNIZED THAT THERE COULD BE PROBLEMS BETWEEN ARMED ZANU/MUGABE FORCES AND ZAPU FORCES DURING AN ELECTION PERIOD. HOWEVER, THIS DID NOT BOTHER HIM SINCE ZAPU HAD A PROVEN ABILITY TO GET THE BETTER OF ZANU FORCES IN A SHOWDOWN.

7. COMMENT: NDLOVU WAS SURPRISINGLY FRANK IN ADMITTING THAT TENSIONS BETWEEN ZANU AND ZAPU ARE STRONG AND THAT THESE ARE LIKELY TO CARRY OVER TO AN ELECTION PERIOD. WE FIND HIS ASSESSMENT OF ZAPU'S CAPABILITY OF HANDLING ZANU IN A MILITARY

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SHOWDOWN DUBIOUS. WE ALSO QUESTION HIS DISMISSAL OF ZANU'S POLITICAL STRENGTH. WE FIND HIS COMMENTS ON MILITARY ARRANGEMENTS DURING THE TRANSITION MILDLY ENCOURAGING. END COMMENT.
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